

Message Text

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ACTION EA-09

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05 H-01
INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02
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-----089914 111122Z /15

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FM AMEMBASSY TOKYO
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 95
INFO AMEMBASSY MOSCOW
USLO PEKING

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 TOKYO 12190

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: JA, SU, OVIP
SUBJECT: HATOYAMA VISIT TO MOSCOW

REF: TOKYO 11875

1. IN AUGUST 10 CONVERSATION SOVIET DIVDIR TOGO CONFIRMED
EARLIER INDICATIONS (REFTEL) THAT GOJ WANTS HATOYAMA TO VISIT
MOSCOW SOON. TOGO SAID JAPANESE HAD PROPOSED TO SOVIETS IN
MOSCOW THAT HATOYAMA COME FOR THREE DAYS OF TALKS WITH
GROMYKO AND OTHERS DURING PERIOD AUGUST 28-SEPTEMBER 3.
SOVIETS HAVE NOT YET RESPONDED, BUT GOJ EXPECTS EARLY AND
POSITIVE ANSWER.

2. AS PUT TO SOVIETS, PURPOSE OF VISIT WOULD BE TO RE-
OPEN TALKS ON PEACE TREATY. JAPANESE SEE LITTLE REAL
PROSPECT FOR MEANINGFUL DISCUSSION OF ISSUE BUT, SAID TOGO,
BELIEVE JAPANESE POSITION WITH RESPECT TO NORTHERN
TERRITORIES NEEDS HIGH-LEVEL REAFFIRMATION AT THIS TIME.
HE NOTED THAT WHILE GOJ BELIEVES JAPANESE CLAIM TO
NORTHERN TERRITORIES WAS FULLY MAINTAINED IN LANGUAGE
OF RECENTLY CONCLUDED JAPAN-SOVIET INTERIM FISHERIES
AGREEMENT (AND EARLIER AGREEMENT GOVERNING
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JAPANESE ACCESS TO SOVIET WATERS), GOJ WANTS TO
ERASE ANY MISCONCEPTIONS SOVIETS MAY HAVE ON THIS
SCORE BY MAKING CLEAR AT FONMIN LEVEL THAT NOTHING
HAS CHANGED. IN ADDITION TO EXCHANGE OF VIEWS ON
PEACE TREATY/NORTHERN TERRITORIES QUESTION, TOGO
EXPECTS SOVIETS TO ADVANCE ONCE AGAIN IDEA OF AN
INTERIM "GOOD NEIGHBOR" TREATY, WHICH HE SAID JAPANESE

ONCE AGAIN WOULD FIRMLY REJECT. HE THOUGHT ECONOMIC ISSUES WOULD BE ADDRESSED ONLY IN GENERAL TERMS (MORE DETAILED DISCUSSIONS ARE SLATED FOR SEPTEMBER 12-16 MEETING IN TOKYO OF JOINT ECONOMIC COMMITTEE), WITH SOVIETS ADVOCATING AND JAPANESE RESISTING LARGER GOJ GOVERNMENTAL ROLE IN TRADE AND INVESTMENT.

3. WITH REFERENCE TO PRESS SPECULATION (AND PARTICULARLY REPORT SOURCED TO HIGH-LEVEL OFFICIAL TRAVELING WITH PM) THAT HATOYAMA VISIT WAS VIEWED AS PRELUDE TO FURTHER TALKS WITH CHINA ON PEACE AND FRIENDSHIP TREATY, TOGO RESOLUTELY DENIED ANY CONNECTION. ALTHOUGH CHINA WOULD UNDOUBTEDLY BE DISCUSSED IN MOSCOW, RESPECTIVE POSITIONS WERE WELL KNOWN. HE ADMITTED THAT "SOME PEOPLE" AT POLITICAL LEVEL MAY REGARD VISIT AS PART OF PFT-RELATED SCENARIO, BUT REITERATED THAT ITS MAJOR FOCUS WOULD BE PURELY BILATERAL.

4. AS TO TIMING, TOGO INDICATED THAT FISHERIES NEGOTIATION SCHEDULE FIGURED PROMINENTLY. JAPANESE SEE IN RELATIVELY SMOOTH CONCLUSION LAST WEEK OF SECOND INTERIM AGREEMENT SIGNS THAT SOVIETS RECOGNIZED THEIR TOUGH LINE IN EARLIER TALKS HAD DANGEROUSLY ALIENATED JAPANESE AND WISHED TO RESTORE MODICUM OF GOOD WILL TO RELATIONSHIP. JAPANESE BELIEVE HATOYAMA VISIT TO MOSCOW, MORE THAN RELATIVELY ROUTINE HATOYAMA-CONFIDENTIAL

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GROMYKO MEETING AT UN, MAY HELP TO REINFORCE THIS TREND. SIMILARLY, MOSCOW VISIT WOULD BE MORE EFFECTIVE FORUM THAN UN BILATERAL FOR REAFFIRMING JAPANESE CLAIM TO NORTHERN TERRITORIES. TOGO SAID THAT IN EMPHASIZING ITS OWN DESIRE FOR GOOD BILATERAL RELATIONS WHILE AT SAME TIME CLEARING AIR ON NORTHERN TERRITORIES ISSUE, GOJ HOPES THAT VISIT WILL, INTER ALIA, ESTABLISH POSITIVE ATMOSPHERE FOR RESOLUTION OF NEXT UPCOMING BILATERAL ISSUE WITH SOVIETS, NEGOTIATION OF LONG-TERM FISHERIES AGREEMENT. (TALKS AT EXPERT LEVEL ON LONG-TERM AGREEMENT MAY BEGIN PRIOR TO END OF AUGUST. TOGO SAID GOJ HOPES FORMAL NEGOTIATIONS WILL FOLLOW SHORTLY THEREAFTER AND THAT AGREEMENT CAN BE CONCLUDED IN TIME FOR ITS SUBMISSION, ALONG WITH JUST-COMPLETED INTERIM AGREEMENT, TO EXTRAORDINARY DIET SESSIONS IN FALL.)

5. COMMENT: DESPITE TOGO'S DISAVOWAL OF ANY THIRD-COUNTRY MOTIVES, GOJ WAS PROBABLY IMPELLED BY COMBINATION OF BILATERAL AND CHINA-RELATED CONSIDERATIONS TO SEEK EARLY MOSCOW TRIP. GOJ UNDOUBTEDLY DOES FEEL NEED TO REAFFIRM UNMISTAKABLY ITS POSITION ON NORTHERN

TERRITORIES IN AFTERMATH OF INTERIM FISHERIES TALKS, ALTHOUGH PERHAPS LESS TO ERASE MISCONCEPTIONS ON PART OF SOVIETS THAN TO FORESTALL POSSIBLE CHARGES IN DIET THAT JAPANESE CLAIM HAS BEEN ERODED. (WHILE MOST RECENT AGREEMENT, GOVERNING SOVIET ACCESS TO JAPANESE WATERS, ASSERTS JAPANESE SOVEREIGNTY OVER DISPUTED AREA, IT ACKNOWLEDGES DE FACTO SOVIET CONTROL IN THAT GOJ WILL EXERCISE NO JURISDICTION THERE.) GOJ DESIRE TO EMPHASIZE ITS COMMITMENT TO BETTER BILATERAL RELATIONS AND HOPE THAT THIS MAY ENCOURAGE CONTINUED GOOD BEHAVIOR BY SOVIETS IS ALSO UNDERSTANDABLE.

5. HOWEVER, IT ALSO SEEMS LIKELY THAT VISIT--AND PARTICULARLY ITS TIMING--REFLECTS HIGH-LEVEL GOJ VIEW
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THAT MOSCOW TALKS ARE PREREQUISITE TO NEXT ROUND OF NEGOTIATIONS WITH CHINESE ON PFT. JAPANESE MAY FEEL THAT BECAUSE OF ITS GREATER SYMBOLISM, VISIT TO MOSCOW, FAR MORE THAN MEETING WITH GROMYKO IN NEW YORK, WOULD SERVE TO UNDERSCORE TO SOVIETS JAPANESE DESIRE TO MAINTAIN BENEFICIAL RELATIONSHIP WITH MOSCOW REGARDLESS OF OUTCOME OF PFT NEGOTIATIONS WITH PEKING.

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ACTION EA-09

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05 H-01
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FM AMEMBASSY TOKYO
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 96
INFO AMEMBASSY MOSCOW
USLO PEKING

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 TOKYO 12190

HATOYAMA, SON OF PRIME MINISTER WHO IN 1956 NORMALIZED JAPAN-

USSR RELATIONS, IS IN JAPANESE TERMS WELL SUITED TO MAKE THAT POINT. HAVING MADE IT, JAPANESE MAY THEN FEEL LESS CONSTRAINED IN PROCEEDING WITH DISCUSSIONS WITH CHINESE. THUS, AS "HIGH OFFICIAL" TRAVELING WITH PM REPORTEDLY SAID, HATOYAMA WILL "CLARIFY TO RUSSIAN LEADERS THAT ANTI-HEGEMONY CLAUSE HAS NOTHING TO DO WITH JAPAN'S RELATIONS WITH USSR." JAPANESE FULLY EXPECT NEGATIVE SOVIET REACTION, AND TEMPORARY CHILL IN RELATIONSHIP, IF THEY DO MOVE AHEAD ON PFT. BUT THEY MAY WELL BELIEVE THESE EFFECTS CAN BE CUSHIONED SOMEWHAT BY PROTESTING THEIR GOOD INTENTIONS IN ADVANCE.

6. POSSIBILITY REMAINS, OF COURSE, THAT SOVIETS MAY NOT FIND IT CONVENIENT TO RECEIVE HATOYAMA DURING

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IEBIVF# AS PROPOSED. (FOR ITS PART, GOJ HAS LITTLE FLEXIBILITY IN TIMING IF VISIT IS TO TAKE PLACE SOON. AUGUST 28 -SEPTEMBER 3 IS WINDOW BETWEEN SECRETARY'S VISIT AND KOREAN FOREIGN MINISTER VISIT, FOLLOWED CLOSELY BY UNGA AND EXTRAORDINARY DIET SESSION.) SOME IN CONFIDENTIAL

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FONOFF REPORTEDLY ARE CONCERNED THAT BY SIGNALLING PUBLICLY CHINA DIMENSION OF VISIT, AS HAS BEEN DONE BY MEMBERS OF PM'S PARTY, GOJ MAY PRECIPITATE SOVIET TURNDOWN.
MANSFIELD

NOTE BY OC/T: TOKYO 12190(#)AS RECEIVED. CORRECTION TO FOLLOW.

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